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ABSTRACT

Tracing the effects of white contact with Native American tribes as evidenced in the Winnebago Tribe, this paper describes the problems of Winnebago youth caused by divisions between traditional Winnebago culture and the dominant mainstream American culture. Chapter I shows how the informal training of Winnebago family and clan have been gradually eroded, from 1863 to the present, by the formal training conducted by the United States government in on-reservation and off-reservation boarding schools and by Christian mission schools. Chapter II describes how political strategies were effectively put to use during the 1960's and 1970's to bring about tribal supervision of the disbursement of federal funds. It tells how Nebraska tribes, including the Winnebago, found that unified efforts helped them to gain greater self-determination on local, state, and national levels. Chapter III describes how the traditional expressive arts of the Winnebago and the social groupings of clan and tribe provide a framework for individual functioning within the clan and how continuity with American culture can be facilitated once the unitary way of tribal life is recognized by present day educators. Chapter IV offers educational concepts for a culture-based program and includes suggestions for curriculum development. (CM)

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Formal and Informal Education of the Winnebago Society with Implications for Formal Education

by

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Introduction: A Divided World

The effects of a history of conquest and cultural genocide after white contact with the Native American tribes is seen in the history of the Winnebago, in the way the people are divided between the traditional Winnebago culture and the dominant mainstream American culture. From the early nineteenth century until recently, the youth were taken from their parents to white schools so that they might learn to become like white men, and forget about being Native American and Winnebago, as the U. S. Government acted out the policy of assimilation. During the course of Federal-Indian relationships, educational measures, however, underwent changes with the changes in administrators. Some administrators in the mission schools and the Bureau of Indian Affairs actually sought to achieve the goal of having Native Americans reach into their own cultural roots for security and identification, and, at the same time, have them prepare for vocations in American industry, labor and the professions.

The traditional Winnebago training of the children for adulthood provided role models for learning, caring communication, and so cultural identification which encourages well-balanced personalities, was a continuous, undivided process shared by family, clan and tribe.

The problems faced by Winnebago and other Native American youth grew out of divisions in families whose members were methodically weaned from family and tribal loyalties by Federal Government sponsored paternalism and Christian consciousness; thus the tribal person was vulnerable to problems caused by cultural tensions inherent in the areas where majority and minority cultures fought over psychological and territorial priorities. The individuals who did have, and those who now have the severest problems in meeting life's demands find neither accommodation nor assimilation but remain in the limbo between; the tortured individual struggles to

to become the complete and functioning whole self supported by an integrated home and community.

This monograph maintains that Winnebago members of the Nebraska community show that they sustain their tribal identity with their heritage reaching back into the traditional past. However, historical background information indicates that members of the tribe suffered alienation and anomie from the dominant American society. Further, an important aspect of the thesis treated here, is the consideration of foundational concepts in education that might point the way towards solutions to the cultural disruptions and individual alienation, employing methods and concepts of traditional tribal society which fostered cultural wholeness, and therefore, healthy individuals. Then possible solutions may evolve from the process of finding modern equivalents for traditional institutions of which the vital core remains, thus provoking dynamic and effective responses to modern needs linking the old with the changing new.

Tribal usages which depended on the wigwam, the cheeporraX-ke, the Wisconsin forests, and Wisconsin ecological systems cannot be restored. But spiritual regeneration, psychological, emotional, and mental nourishment can result from group learning practices which encourage cooperation in one-to one relationships, avoid hierarchial social stigma, and encourage respect for each individual's ability in a caring, supportive atmosphere.

The public school and other schools in the Winnebago area will have to become truly community-oriented and community-controlled schools. Since the student population of the Winnebago Public School is eighty per cent Native American, and, predominantly Winnebago, tribal people must eventually have control over educational policies of the school. The educational program need not forgo preparation of tribal for dominant mainstream American society, but

the curriculum can respect the Winnebago and other tribal points of view in presenting history and other social studies, the art/crafts projects, ethnoscience, native sources of medicines, the native languages, and many other subjects supportive of the culture. For the individual native student, pride can grow through the study of the Native American and Winnebago heritage. The self-respect and self-image of students grow in a school community where teachers, administration, and staff work together with students, and oppression is a condition of the past. The monograph will consider traditional Winnebago and American forms of education, and then discuss how a new education might be constructed.

The monograph argues that building on the ways of life that have worked for societal structure of the past helps to ease transition to the new. Not only that, but the practices that promote sharing, generosity, courage, self-discipline, self-determination, the ceremony that supports and encourages spiritual maintenance and growth, are important for Winnebago youth in today's world and for other youth, too.

CHAPTER I

THE NEBRASKA EXPERIENCE: 1863-PRESENT

The present day educational situation on the Winnebago reservation reflects a history of governmental policy towards the Native American, and specifically, the Winnebago. The federal government has been involved as has the state. Often state public authorities in education have felt the community of people living in the town of Winnebago and its county--also reservation environs, Thurston--need direction from above rather than on the "grassroots level." The inheritance of the government's insistence on civilizing the Native American away from his tribal culture into the American mainstream is evidenced in the curriculum which, even today, only pays lip service to the rich ethnic culture--first, Winnebago, then Omaha, then Sioux and other tribes, then other ethnic Americans,--represented by the student body in the Winnebago schools.

The community of the town of Winnebago once had at its spiritual center the huge ceremonial lodge for celebrating the Medicine Rites, distinctly traditional religion of the Winnebago, developed by the tribe itself. The town accommodated, in the early 1900s, the Peyote religion, or officially, the Native American Church. At the same time, the Portestant and Catholic denominations set up their churches and schools, alongside the United State government controlled schools. The institutionalized means of control used by the government bureaucrat, the Christian minister, and the white teacher, combined with the control tacts of the trader, the liquor merchant, the realtor, the land swindler, the American salesman and other out to make a fast buck--all appear, in retrospect, to have conspired to do the Winnebago tribe out of land, possessions, and will to live. But the history of the colonization is more complex than that.

From 1830 to 1865, and from 1865 to 1920, saw only two periods of economic

well-being for the Winnebago. The first period of economic well-being occurred while the tribe lived at Blue Earth, Minnesota, one of the lulls during the desperate and destitute times of forced removal by the U. S. Army from Wisconsin homelands to Iowa, to Minnesota, to South Dakota, then to Nebraska. The second period occurred at Winnebago, Nebraska after settlement on the reservation. The first time was when all constructive conditions were at a maximum. During this time, the tribe, despite having to sell much of the reservation land to the government in order to buy livestock, buildings, mechanical implements, and feed, were content and successful, farming in this fertile land.

The second time of economic well-being was during the 1920s, when the able-bodied adults could make a living out of wage earnings from jobs in nearby industries and farms. Though the Winnebago were losing much of their land to the whites through sales, they were not losing it so fast that they could not manage on what they had left, particularly up until the Great Depression of 1929. These periods of prosperity and equilibrium when the Winnebago could manage for themselves economically, and yet, continue as a viable Native American culture, did not last long enough for the Winnebago to develop a schooling system which fit their economy and culture, nor did they have the freedom to develop such a system.

From 1865 to 1925, a number of schools were started, and then discontinued, for a number of reasons. Discontinuation, in most cases, resulted from the changes in federal policy to education with respect to Native Americans, a policy which vacillated between education of children on reservations and education of youth off the reservations. Under the Grant Administration came the move to have various Protestant and Catholic denominations be responsible for education of Native Americans. Whether off-reservation and on-reservation schools were the order of

the day; they were boarding schools. Only in the 1930s did the stress by the United States government swing to day schools, in response to pressure by humanitarian leaders, some Native American, to let the children continue to live at home while attending school. By then the schools came too late; the prosperous economy of the Winnebago no longer existed. Moreover the new community school did not fit the home-clan-extended family-children's style.

In 1865-1900, the pressure was to civilize the Native American; the tool for civilizing was to be the school primarily, then secondarily, the church. The reduction of the amount of land held by tribes was thought to have merit in this civilization of the Native American. Taking the land was "the moral thing to do" on two counts: (1) The land belonged to those who tilled it. The Anglo-American knew how to till the land, so it was up to him to carry out his God-given duty to claim the land in order to farm it, even if it meant driving off the Native Americans who had lived on the land for thousands of years, even though many were farmers. (2) The Native American did not need all that land anyway, just for hunting, and so, since they were to become civilized by settling down on land allotted to each family head (160 acres) and orphans and single persons (80 acres) the surplus land could be sold to the settlers, and become public domain.[1]

Despite the goal of civilizing the Winnebago, along with other Native Americans, by means of the school, the schools were not maintained for some reason or another, on the part of the United States government. In 1876, for example, inadequate appropriations for Indian schools by Congress hampered the

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[1] Helen Hunt Jackson, A Century of Dishonor, Crusade for Indian Reform, ed. Andrew F. Rolle, (Boston; Little Brown and Company, 1973), p. 253.

consistent running of the schools.[2] Sometimes, political chicanery destroyed the schools. For instance, local Agent Jesse Warner, in the 1890s, praised the progress made by the students and especially noted their skill when he stated that "they compare favorably with white mechanics anywhere." The same agent complained that his competent teachers were being released to make room for political appointees. A fire destroyed the school he headed in 1893 and again in 1898, after the agents reported good attendance and progress in the classroom and trades. Sometimes, apparently arbitrary shifts in boarding school policy closed a school. In 1908, a change in the policy of the United States government to discourage education in boarding schools relieved the government of responsibility for education in the Winnebago boarding school. The Dutch Reformed Mission took over the boarding school for purposes of education at that time.[3]

Prior to that, the off-reservation boarding school had experienced a gradual growth. The off-reservation boarding school developed from the efforts of Captain Richard H. Pratt. Pratt had agitated for training of Native Americans in manual labor and academic educational programs and set up this type of education at Ft. Marion, Florida among the captive tribesmen. Pratt then took his case for a new kind of education for Native Americans to Congress, and having won over the members of Congress, succeeded in having Native Americans included in the educational program at Hampton, Virginia, alongside of the Negroes there. Later, Pratt got permission to set up an industrial training school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania for Native Americans, and

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2 Loring Benson Priest, Uncle Sam's Stepchildren (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), pp. 134-135.

3 Lubman, Hyman T. "A History of the Nebraska Winnebago Indians with Special Emphasis on Education," Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Nebraska, Omaha, 1962, pp. 98-99.

was superintendent there from 1879-1904.[4] Other private off-reservation boarding schools were later developed: Genoa, Nebraska; Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas; Chilocco, Indian Territory, 1884.

> To this basic pattern [manual labor schools, providing part-time instruction and part-time maintenance labor] were added military discipline and the complete regimentation of the child's working hours. Moreover, the schools were dedicated to the ultimate eradication of traits of Indian culture. The location of the schools at distances far removed from the reservations from which children were selected was deliberate policy. Children were often no more than five or six years old when they arrived at their schools. If the child could be taken young enough and moved far enough away from the influences of family and tribe, the odds against his ever becoming a part of his environment were considered remote.[5]

At these boarding schools an outing system was developed to give the Native American students experiences in white family's homes, while working as servants for board and keep. The government paid the family $50 per year for medical care and clothing.

This off-the-reservation boarding school education became, until fairly recently, the dominant mode of education for the Winnebago. It was a pattern designed to sever all connection to tradition, language, culture, religion and familial loyalties. It may be useful to investigate some elders' memories of these schools. Consider the following recollections of the Genoa and Carlisle schools by Agnes Whitebeaver of the Winnebago:

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[4] Francis Paul Prucha (ed.), Americanizing the American Indians (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 260-261.

[5] Harold E. Fey and D'Arcy McNickle, Indians and Other Americans, (New York and Evanston: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 129.

In 1909 I went to Genoa. After two years, I went to Carlisle. I was there until 1916.

[After graduating] I went "out in the country!" (i.e., into the outing system--wcn.)

I learned to make bobbin lace. I won a prize in a contest at Chautauqua, New York. I made a baby dress, all by hand. There were pleats and insets of lace. (She indicated with her hands where the inserts were located over the shoulders and in parallel rows down the front of the dress.) My mother wrote telling Mrs. Watermulder about the prize, and Mrs. Watermulder wanted me to sew dresses for her but my father, Charlie, would'nt let me. The prize for the contest was: "White House Cookbook." (Mrs. Watermulder was the wife of the Dutch Reformed minister at Winnebago.)

My parents had separated when I was small. When I went to Carlisle, that was the first time I had seen my full sister. They put us on a train to go to Carlisle.

I asked (wcn): "Did you ever come back to Winnebago after you went to Carlisle?"

Agnes answered, "I never came back home for five years."

I asked, "Did you have home ec.?"

Agnes responded, "I used to work in the laundry. I used to iron. When I first went, I must have been small. We had a woman baker. She used to think a lot of me. She used to ask for me. I didn't do [much] of anything. She used to make batter pancakes."

I asked, "Did you miss your mother when you went to Genoa?"

Agnes said, "The train used to go right by the school. I'd stand right by the fence. My brother would tease me by saying, '<u>Wehunga</u> had great big tears rolling down.'"

I reiterated, "You never came home?

Agnes replied, "We didn't come home."[6]

Notice that the decorative skills taught--bobbin lace, baby dress-making, making pleats, and insets of lace--at that time--had no place in Winnebago culture, but were part of an induction into another culture

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[6]Personal Interview with Agnes Whitebeaver, Winnebago, Nebraska, June 25, 1976.

quite different. The prizes for the contest had an established place in the competitive system into which the school expected each student to enter, regardless of difference in ethnic background. The home economics training might be helpful if the student should return to homes which would be equipped as modern kitchens and homes of the middle class American home were, but not too many Winnebago homes could be considered such at that time.

But the separation of home, miles and miles distant from the boarding school in eatern United States, was a separation that the children were forced to accept, although it was difficult and for some, traumatic, at first. The brother teased the sister about her "great big tears rolling down."

Consider the following interview with Alice Mallory Porter and Minnie Little Bear. Alice expresses positively the importance for her of the education she had, as do a number of the elders. She lists Genoa, grades one to eight, Hampton, one year, and after passing an entrance exam she was admitted to Haskell for two years. She attended Cook Christian Training School in Phoenix, Arizona later on in life; while there she had Public Speaking, Christian Education, and practical teaching experience. There she met and married her Papago husband, Felix Porter.

Marching was an important part of the older off-reservation boarding school training. After Alice told about the way they marched at Haskell (they competed with each other to see which group could march the best), she related how, at one time, the students were kept waiting almost two hours before the Commissioner of Indian Affairs arrived to review the marchers. At the conclusion, Minnie commented quietly that she did not like that (the marching). Nothing could have been likened to this martial marching in Winnebago culture, even in times when the traditional culture was actively practiced when warriors went off from the village on a raid, or other types of hostilities.

Concerning the arrangement of the daily curriculum and work schedule, Alice said that it was done by the half-day--half days set aside for academic or school work, and half days taken up by working in the laundry, bakery, kitchen, and the farm animals, and so forth. They learned reading, writing, and arithmetic, and other subjects. She was taught Agriculture at Genoa, for example, and Botany at Hampton.

The Winnebago language was consistently and forcefully suppressed. Etta Hunter (age 92, fall, 1978) told me[7] that it took her a couple of weeks of having supper of bread and water as punishment for speaking Winnebago as a six-year-old student at Genoa, until she stopped speaking her native language.

The destruction of Winnebago culture in these schools was even more complete than in on-the-reservation schools.

iii. Summary

In this chapter I have attempted to show how the informal training of Winnebago family and clan had been gradually eroded by the institutionalized or formal training conducted by the United States government in on-reservation and off-reservation boarding schools, and also, by Christian mission schools. Schools were established, then closed, and then started up again, as the members of the tribe were forcibly removed from Wisconsin to Iowa, then to Minnesota, from there to South Dakota, and finally to Nebraska. The goal of the United States government for its Native American wards was to assimilate tribal peoples into the American mainstream not only through formal or institutionalized secular education but also encouraged Christian education. Preparation for citizenship by learning to be a

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[7] Personal Interview, Wichita, Kansas, August 1, 1974.

farmer on allotted land was considered viable and progressive policy for Native Americans.

Seldom, did the United States government before 1920 ask the tribal representatives, or the parents of school children (or if they asked them, they did not take the answers seriously) what they wanted in their lives--how they would take care of themselves and their children, economically, socially, spiritually, or ethically. (There were two periods of economic stability when the schools were compatible to the tribe and its culture.) Despite all this, Winnebago today still practice important aspects of their tribal education.

CHAPTER II

THE EDUCATIONAL SITUATION ON THE WINNEBAGO RESERVATION: 1960s-1970s

1. Introduction

The Winnebago Public School and Satellite Community College have slowly begun to respond to protests from Native American members of the Winnebago community to permit more parent control of the public school education, and to meet the demands for change by providing more equitable educational opportunities for the needs of the students of the community college.

A more recent history of the education in the institutionalized settings may be considered a period of greater liberal treatment on the part of the federal and state governments towards the Winnebago and other tribal communities. In the 1960s under the Johnson Administration, legislation was passed for the benefit of the reservation communities, e.g., Community Action Program, Career Opportunities Program, Upward Bound and Outward Bound Programs, as well as the National Teacher Corps. These programs were helpful to the community on a piecemeal basis, and a significant, though only a small, proportion of the community was helped. For example, the funding set aside by the national Congress for the benefit of school districts attended by a significant portion of Native American students was given over to the superintendents and principals to spend as they chose. Some districts built swimming pools, and the Winnebago Public School financed television sets for every classroom and teacher workshops. The state head of Johnson O'Malley funds, it was found, sent in the same report three years in a row, so there could not have been much contact, on his part, with the school districts in or near Native American communities. The only comments that showed interest on the part of this state director were made about the sewing and home economics classes for the girls,

and the shopwork (auto mechanics, etc.) for the boys; this type of interest appears to me to be a perpetuation of the non-Indian's belief that Native Americans are fit only for developing their vocational skills or working with their hands, as opposed to working with their heads.

The educational situation on reservations applies to urban Native American children; however, there is even less chance for urban children to identify with their Native American heritage. There has been far too little involvement of parents with their children's education.[1] There has been too little concern on the part of public school officials and teachers in presenting the Native American point of view and including information about the concerns of Native Americans, past and present. Whether the neglect of Native American children by teachers is due to racist attitudes on the part of WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) teachers,[2] or simply, lack of preparation on the part of teachers for handling bicultural, bilingual education, the dropout situation indicated the need for a concerted effort on the part of educators to change their tactics for the benefit of these children.

The period 1830-1960 took control of education away from Native American peoples. But by 1960, it was evident that the tribal peoples of Winnebago, Nebraska were aware they should have more control of how their schools were being run. This awareness expressed itself as a conscious movement for policy

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1 NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., with the Cooperation of the Center for Law and Education, Harvard University, An Even Chance (Annandale, Virginia: Graphics 4, 1971).

2 Miles V. Zintz, Education Across Cultures, 2nd ed. (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Brown Publishing Company, 1969), Chapters 1, 3, 4, 5.

changes during the 1960s. At that time, changes in national government policy toward Native Americans, encouraging community-oriented education, the political advantage developed by Native American protest movements and by the occupation of ancestral lands, the demonstration occurrences such as that at Alcatraz, and the politicized sharing of experiences by Native American youth and adults with those of other minorities all across the country led to a new sense of political awareness and advocacy spurring changes for the better. In time, the ferment which grew out of Vietnam and the Civil Rights movement supported the conscious stirrings for change in tribal conditions at Winnebago.

In the 1950s the Nebraska tribes successfully defended themselves against termination of federal services. The Termination and Relocation legislation of the United States Congress, 1953-1954, raised more problems for the tribal people than it solved by encouraging them to leave the reservation and settle in seven of the largest urban centers in the nation, without preparation for a viable living. By rising to the issue of termination and relocation they found the power in unity of numbers and the value of working with their neighboring tribes. This resolve to work together appeared again in the 1960s. At conference after conference, Nebraska tribal leaders in the mid and late sixties stressed the importance of Winnebago, Sioux and Omaha culture for their tribal peoples, and the place of Native American culture as a study in the schools. At the same time, on the national level, the Senate conducted hearings across the country among Native American groups, and later, before the Indian Sub-Committee on Indian Education. The culmination of this process was the report of the 91st Congress, 1st Session, No. 91-501 which came in 1969 and was called Indian Education--A National--A National Challenge.

ii. Political Strategies and the Johnson O'Malley Situation

Political strategies for gaining control of the programming for the public education of Winnebago, Nebraska children and young adults were worked out by tribal groups, which included leaders of the Winnebago, Omaha and Sioux, and white educators and sympathizers who employed effectively lobbying strategies in the state legislature and federal funding agencies, as well as program planning in state education/minority conferences, and also funding allocation of Higher Education programs.

An incident of small consequence at the outset involving the overnight camping of a non-Indian couple in Big Elk Park on the Omaha Reservation developed into an inflammatory situation involving sexism and racism as issues, in 1968. This incident aroused the almost totally white community of Walthill and the local paper publicized the incident in anti-Indian propagandist articles, against the reservation Winnebago and Omaha communities. The incident also raised other issues that needed to be addressed, and "generated the spark which kept them [the tribal people] going for a couple of years."[3]

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3 Telephone Interview with Reuben Snake (now tribal chairman) speaking from Winnebago, Nebraska, October 12, 1977.

During these two years, the Nebraska Indian Commission was formed after a conference of Native American leaders with Governor Tiemann at a town hall meeting, the Brotherhood Conference at Winnebago in 1972.

At that time the Corps of Engineers' effort to take over a part of the reservation, Flowers Island, was discovered, by the Winnebago who conducted the "Winnebago armada", consisting of a few canoes, from the banks of the Missouri River to the island to maintain ownership by occupation, and, who then, proceeded to sue the Corps of Engineers.

The 1972 Brotherhood Conference at Winnebago was held to discuss issues of importance for the welfare of Nebraska Native Americans and such local inequities as inadequate housing and unfair labor practices on the reservation. As a result of the conference, progress was made on solving problems involved in these inequities.

Two conditions involved in these social and political issues were, as indicated above, first, the latent racism in the northeastern Nebraska communities, and, second, the need for change from non-Indian dominance to tribal control of education in a community predominatly consisting of tribal peoples. The tribes in their struggle for civil rights of the early sixties, needed to focus their energies on these two conditions.

Until 1970 the Winnebago Public School had been a state supervised school with minimal attention paid to the tribal population. The impetus for changing conditions for the betterment of education for Native American children came from concerned tribal members, stated Reuben Snake: "Before the 'Town Hall' meeting, Sterling and I went to Santee and Macy and uncovered the misuse of Johnson O'Malley funds on the reservation."[4] Reuben wrote later:[5]

> Only in recent times, since some concerned tribal members have initiated efforts to change existing conditions, have our children begun to succeed in larger numbers within the school.
>
> The Johnson O'Malley Act programs and funds provided the springboard we needed to make a giant leap forward in the education of our children. Nebraska Indians have been the pace-setters in Indian control of JO'M funds and progress. JO'M funds controlled by Indians in various parts of the nation are creating exciting and successful changes in education.
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> What has happened nationally regarding control of JO'M funds can be traced directly back to the Indian Brotherhood C o n f e r e n c e

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4 Ibid.

5 Winnebago Indian News, Winnebago, Nebraska, June 1, 1973, II (2), p. 2

h o s t e d by the Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska back on September 9-10-11 of 1970.

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All this happened because Indian people across this land have determined that they will survive as tribes and nations and that gaining control of funds meant for the educational benefit of their children is vitally necessary in their struggle for survival. Nebraska Indians, Winnebagoes, Omahas and Santee Sioux have a right to be proud that they have led their Indian brothers and sisters in this new direction.

It is interesting to note that credit for a more just dispensation of Johnson O'Malley funds through Indian control has been given to other than those persons who directly had a hand in the investigations of Nebraska State Department Education disbursement of those funds. According to Mark G. Yudof, Lecturer on Education, and a member of the staff of Harvard Center for Law and Education, "In 1969, after Nixon's speech on the Taos-Blue Lake controversy, the Winnebago tribe asked for more Indian input in programs which concerned their reservation. Harrison Loesch, then Undersecretary of the Department of the Interior came to Nebraska to examine the use of JOM funds by the Department of Education."[6] Yudof then lists the discrepancies found in the use of JOM funds on the Santee and Winnebago Reservations. "As a result of Loesch's visit, the administration of JOM funds were [sic] turned over to the Intertribal Development Council at Winnebago which is made up of representatives from Omaha, Winnebago and Santee Sioux Tribes. Nebraska was the first state in which JOM funds were administrated."

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6 T.O.N.I.C., Orientation Handbook (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Tutorial Program, 1973), p. 144.

Let us look at another account of the change in control of JOM funds from the State Department of Education under William Schindler to Indian control, that by Professor Paul Olson of the Nebraska T.T.T. (Training of Teachers of Teachers) Project.

> In 1967-1968 Governor Norbert Tiemann held a series of governor's Round Tables in towns around and about rural Nebraska. He brought in state officials, conducted hearings regarding state government. There was a meeting at Winnebago. The Omaha and Winnebago were very articulate and well-organized in presenting cases which revealed the inadequacy of the public schools, the inadequacy of the teachers and the unjust taxation which made impossible the adequacy of the social services. This began the educational self-determination movement. Reuben Snake and others began to ask questions about the use of JOM funds.
>
> The Winnebagoes were given some "technical assistance" forces. Louise Tonkovich, M.A. candidate in the Anthropology Department, UN-Lincoln, went to Winnebago and investigated the situation there; she also checked the situation in Lincoln and found out that the then head of JOM funds, William Shindler, was also holding down another full-time job for the State Department of Education. Furthermore, Schindler had turned in the exact same report for doing the job with JOM funds five years in a row. (He xeroxed the same report [with little] change five years in a row.)
>
> Alice Neundorf, Navaho teacher from the community-controlled Rough Rock School also visited Winnebago and spent time with the Snakes [Sterling and Reuben Sanke] and others. She told how she discovered that JOM funds had been spent on band uniforms though no Indian was in the band. Someone had said that Indian students would not qualify to be in the band because their lips were too thick. Alice Neundorf was then a student at UN-L. She may also have found out that the Santee Sioux school bus was bought with JOM money although Reuben Snake may have done research on this.
>
> Some of the facts discovered by Snake, Tonkovich and others were presented at the Tiemann forum. It was after this meeting [at Winnebago] that the Winnebagoes worked out a political program which succeeded in achieving an Indian school board, whereas before it had been all white.
>
> In 1971, at the time of "Nixon's Self-Determination for Indians" speech, after the return of Blue Lake to the Taos Pueblo people, there was a "maximization of effort to achieve" Winnebago control of the school and education, through the school board, and JOM funds were to be spent. At the JOM conference held at Winnebago, attended by Harrison Loesch, Deputy Commissioner in the Department of Interior, he saw first hand the Santee Sioux school bus bought with JOM funds; he saw the band uniforms bought with JOM funds; it then became possible for the Winnebago tribe to gain

control of JOM funds. Loesch acted to turn control of the JOM funds to the Nebraska tribes.

After the Loesch visit, in 1971 T.T.T. held a further conference at Midland College which Reuben Snake organized. There the Nebraska Indian people developed plans for the use of JOM funds. At that time there was a Mormon superintendent at the Winnebago Public School. Before coming to the Winnebago School, he had been at Chinle, Arizona, but the Navaho were so dissatisfied with him that they held a sit-down protest and he was fired.

There must have been 100 people in the chapel at Midland College. They demanded that the superintendent allow the Winnebago language be taught; the superintendent responded that it would be o.k. if they could get a teacher who was credentialed to teach, and who had had a major in Winnebago.

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After the T.T.T. conferences at Winnebago and Midland College there were positive gains for the tribal peoples of Winnebago:

1. JOM funds were dispensed through the newly formed Inter-Tribal Development Corporation.
2. A predominantly Indian school board was formed.
3. There was the Career Opportunities Program (COP) which was used to hire teacher aides.
4. Members of the National Teacher Corps served the Omaha, and Santee schools in a manner more sensitive to culture and place.[7]

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7 Personal Interview with Professor Paul Olson, Department of English, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, July, 1976.

The three accounts, by Reuben Snake, by Mark Yudof, and by Paul Olson, are three renditions of a complex time in the history of moves for self-determination and advocacy for changes in the educational programs among the Winnebago, and other Nebraska tribal peoples. Additional information is provided by Sister Eileen Neville[8] writing from Mount Marty College: "I recall a Mid-America Indian Conference of 1970, at which Harrison Loesch, then Undersecretary of Interior, was present. We used him to pressure the Aberdeen officials into proper disbursement of these [Johnson O'Malley] funds." Aberdeen is a regional Bureau of Indian Affairs office which supervises the local reservation offices.

It emerges quite clearly in the presentation of accounts other than Yudof's that Harrison Loesch did not start the study to examine use of JOM funds by the State Department of Education; local persons, students and other educators such as Reuben Snake, Sister Eileen Neville and Alice Neundorf bent their zealous and persistent efforts to this end. It was important, however, that the attention of a powerful government leader, such as Harrison Loesch, be attracted. Then from first hand information he could decide to put pressure on Aberdeen authorities to cooperate with the tribes; the tribal authorities of the Inter-tribal Development Corporation then received the power to review the budget and eventually control Johnson O'Malley funds. The cooperation of the tribal leaders and their people gave them the political clout they needed on the local, state and national levels to achieve control of discretionary JOM funds in shaping school policy, selection of education personnel, and curriculum.

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[8] Letter from Sister Eileen Neville to Woesha Cloud North, Mount Marty College, Yankton, South Dakota, April 15, 1977.

state and national levels to achieve control of discretionary JOM funds in shaping school policy, selection of education personnel, and curriculum. Later, this control was extended to higher education beginning in 1972.[9]

iii. How has the implementation of Winnebago and tribal culture in the schools worked out?

The educational picture for the Winnebago and other tribal youth in the Winnebago, Nebraska community was considerably improved by 1972 over the educational program geared to "mainstream America" before that time. How has it worked out? As stated in the earlier part of the chapter, substantial efforts have been made to offer and maintain a Native American culture-based program, both in the public school and the community college. Reuben Snake was asked to come to tell legends and stories to the classes at the public school for a while, but he was given only short periods of time to present the culture. A Culture Fair was given in the spring of 1973. The community college from its inception has continued to offer Native American Arts/Crafts and the Winnebago language courses.

According to Ed Raskovsky, teacher and director of Title VII, the teachers did not avail themselves of the Title III Native American culture-based modules (gotten up in 1973 for the Winnebago Public School elementary grades by the Science Research Institute, Lincoln, after consultation with members of the parent, teacher, and administration committee for the school). He gave the opinion that Winnebago culture and history could be presented in the social studies units; he stated that it is important to have dynamic speakers, and

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9 Personal Interview with Reuben Snake, Winnebago, Nebraska, July 26, 1976.

orators like Reuben Snake, for example, and other resource persons to come, if this is to be done.[10]

During 1977 the Winnebago Public School Board was weighted in favor of the non-Indian Board members; three out of the seven members were tribal. The Chairmanship of Marvin Buzzard, Cherokee from Oklahoma, worked to make the board meetings a more democratic affair than in the past. Marvin Buzzard as superintendent after a series of transitional superintendents within the past ten years was able to bring about positive responses in a working cooperation among the teachers, administration (the new principal, Thomas Norris, endorsed Native American studies, as one of acceptable minority type studies that were needed in the public school[11]), and the community. Buzzard stated that a culture-based program would be encouraged by an endorsement of the tribal council, and, further, this endorsement could act to counteract any disagreement among members of the community, thus promoting acceptance.[12]

The JOM funded programs have made the most positive contributions to the preservation of Native American heritage, Winnebago and other tribal practices. Up until 1976, the Indian Cultural Club was a going concern under Delmar Free. The members of this club met in the school throughout the school year and during the summer. Delmar Free told me about how he and others of the Winnebago Language and Oral History Program traveled to historical Winnebago communities to collect the oral history from members of those communities. I also talked with John Vandall,

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10 Personal Interview, Winnebago Public School, July, 1976.

11 Personal Interview, Winnebago Public School, January 9, 1978.

12 Personal Interview, Winnebago Public School, April, 1977.

then director of the JOM programs, who was writing up the grant proposal for JOM funds for the coming year. The rationale for this proposal read as follows:

> The Winnebago Tribal Council believes that the essence of the culture is contained in two main elements--the language and the land.
>
> The primary purpose of this proposal is to develop a program which will preserve the language and maintain cultural continuity.
>
> A recent sampling of the population on the Winnebago reservation showed that only one out of the 140 persons under the age of 35 is able to communicate in the Winnebago language. Since approximately 80% of the population is under 35 it is imperative that steps be taken to compile and preserve the language before it becomes completely lost. Furthermore, exploration of the language area indicated almost a complete lack of written materials. Only three individuals could be found on the reservation that are currently able to read and write the language easily. None of these persons is under the age of 35. Therefore the task cannot be left to future generations; it must be done now! In a matter of a few years this must be accomplished or the Winnebago language will be lost forever. Hoping to achieve cultural continuity through this developmental program the JOM Committee will lay a foundation for a coordinated effort that will be instrumental in accomplishing numerous objectives in these areas.[13]

In the fall of 1976, the Winnebago Language and Oral History Project committee with Matthew Cleveland,[14] as chairman, and Virgil Free, vice-chairman, had already begun working on projects to maintain the traditional culture. These projects included recording the stories in the Winnebago language, and twenty-two three-hour tapes had been collected by the spring of 1977. The women on this traditional culture committee, including Emma Decora and Virginia Free made costumes for a Winnebago family--man, woman, boy and girl--as a part of the art/crafts section of the Winnebago Language and Oral History Project. Ed Snowball taught boys to make

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[13] Personal Interview with John Vandall, JOM Direction, Winnebago, Nebraska, July, 1976; Narrative from JOM Grant Proposal written by John Vandall.

[14] Personal Interview with Matthew Cleveland, Winnebago, Nebraska, April 6, 1976.

their outfits, complete with roach beaddresses, bustles, beadwork, harness, armbands, legbands, breechcloth, mocassins, breastplates, and fans. By the end of 1979 microphone discs and a layman's Winnebago Language dictionary had been developed through the Winnebago Language and Oral History Project, and published for use in the schools.

During the years after 1977, the Winnebago songs and history, family accounts, and tribal legends have been translated into English by Geneva Ewing, Virginia Free, AnnaBess LaRose, Wilbur Sharpback, and others called on for consultation in the Winnebago language. On the basis of some of this material, courses have been developed for use in the Winnebago Public School. Geneva Ewing and AnnaBess LaRose, and Matt Cleveland have taught in the public school and community college, the language, and subjects inclusive of tribal government and current affairs. They used as audio-visual aids some videotapes which were funded and developed the spring of 1979, on a trade-for-use basis by the public school.

To summarize the developments on the local educational scene, between 1977 and 1980, the following conditions have shown changes from negative to positive:

Up to 1977, the commication among the key leaders and groups in the Nebraska Winnebago community had not been effective.

In the spring of 1978, a conference was initiated by the Winnebago tribal council, Winnebago Language and Oral History Project, to which were invited the public school, and community college personnel, the Winnebago elders, and Head Start, JOM committee members, resource persons from Morningside College, and University of Nebraska. A working group of committees was formed to carry out the development of programs for the Winnebago community.

Topics for inclusion into Native American studies curriculum were listed as follows: Winnebago language, Winnebago history and social studies, Winnebago arts and crafts, Winnebago healing and religious philosophy, Winnebago cultural practices, (pre-nineteenth century), Modern Winnebago cultural practices, Winnebago ethnoscience, Federal-Indian relations. Missions and the Winnebago, Games and other types of recreation for tribal cultures.

The spring of 1979 saw the staff of the Winnebago Language and History Project teaching two months' courses in Winnebago, Native American Crafts/Art and Tribal Government, and, Current Affairs. The fact that knowledgeable Winnebago elders were doing the teaching has obviated so far any criticism from the more traditional Winnebago that non-Indian teachers could not teach culture-based subjects.

By the early spring of 1980, several workshops had been conducted for the Head Start teachers, and for the teachers, K-12, led by Reuben Snake, tribal chairman and education coordinator (temporary) and, Tom Bohaunek, Title VII director, Matt Cleveland, and his staff, Winnebago Language and Oral History Project. Educators from other areas, Linda Brewer, Choctaw puppeteer and art educator, and the director of American Indian Studies at the University of South Dakota were some of the resource persons.

Some of the teachers at the Winnebago Public School are working to complete lesson packets on Winnebago and other tribal cultures for use in their classrooms, beginning in the fall of 1980. Tom Bohaunek is coordinating these efforts with the Winnebago tribal leaders and educators.[15]

iv. Conclusion

Political strategies were effectively put into use to bring about tribal supervision of disbursement of federal funds, e.g., Title IV, Johnson O'Malley, Title I, to gain control of the Winnebago Public School Board, to redirect educational activities to include tribal culture in the schools. The political strategies included, in addition to protest of abuse of civil rights on the local level, the advocacy in T.T.T. conferences sponsored and arranged in cooperation with tribal leaders and representatives of Indian and non-Indian communities, "technical assistance" forces from University of Nebraska-Lincoln graduate students and faculty.

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15 Personal Interview, Winnebago Public School, 6 December, 1979.

Federal Indian policy has wavered between encouraging tribal peoples of the United States and Alaska to become independent as political, economic and cultural groups, or to become assimilated as individuals into American majority society.

The Nebraska tribes, including the Winnebago, found that unified efforts in the face of the termination threat, helped them to gain greater self-determination on local, state, and even national levels.

On the Winnebago community level, culture based programs were not only carried out through the Winnebago Language and Oral History Program but also in the educational programs of the schools.

CHAPTER III

SOME RESOURCES THAT EXIST FOR INCLUSION INTO THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

1. Introduction

As the Winnebago child grew into adulthood, the socializing methods and total cultural experiences took the direction of inducting the child cooperatively into society. In the modern American society, more emphasis is placed upon individualism and competitiveness so that the child in the Winnebago, Nebraska community spends many hours of the day in the school feeling the impact of these aspects of American cultural values. He or she also sees the family respond to economic demands of American society to compete for jobs, and to acquire material goods in order to be considered worthy of having achieved the social status that comes with better jobs and these material goods.

If it were possible to institute a curriculum of Native American studies, using Winnebago oral literature, history, the expressive arts, and keeping to a large extent the characteristics of cultural practices as they reflect the past and continue on into the present, it is well to consider the implication of cultural continuity for the child's educational growth.

For the Native American child to grow up in an holistic manner is difficult to visualize in today's world and in American society. Industrial technologically advanced societies encourage tendencies towards separations; separation of thought and feeling, for example, emerges from associations of thought with science as the sole harbinger of the objective view of

reality, and, associations of feeling with sense perception and emotion as the sole means of expressing the subjective view of reality.[1] The circular ecologically balanced and interrelated life within an environment including earth and sky relationships, plant and fauna, and human beings' relationships within a universe of earth and sky, precluded separation of the person from his social and universal relationships. Scholars have noted "the exceptional balance between reason and emotions which distinguish the socialized primitive from his civilized brethren."[2]

In the Winnebago language the word for man and wife is also the word for home--chee-day-nicch. Here is an example of the conceptualization of unity of home with a man and wife, within the Winnebago universe.

ii. Winnebago Education.

Among the numerous considerations surrounding development of Native American studies in the curriculum for the Winnebago, Nebraska community, cooperation among leaders and members of the community is essential. Another important consideration is the need for the professional educator and the minority non-Indian segment of the local population to accept the practice of cultural pluralism in this community where Winnebago and other tribal people have the right to determine their own education.

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1 A. C. Harwood, The Way of a Child (London: Rudolf Steiner Press, 1974), p. 70.

2 Stanley Diamond (ed.), Culture in History, Essays in Honor Paul Radin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 285-286. "Here his [Radin's] covergence with Jung strengthened both their positions - though no one has yet systematically explored the full implications of their common discovery. Jung uncovered among his patients a twisted need for the same life synthesis that Radin found to be the cherished core of primitive social structure."

Will the tribal child be forced to make a choice between the American way of life and that of his home and family, between the ways of living long ago and those of the present? Reuben Snake in the following article presents a concise summary of the background of the Winnebago people and their education from generation to generation:

My great grandfather had many teachers:

His grandfather taught him to make wise decisions.
His grandmother taught him medicine to keep him strong and powerful.
His father taught him what it was to be a brave warrior and a humble man.
His mother taught him love, generosity, kindness and compassion.
His uncles taught him the skills and arts of hunting, singing and joyful dancing.
His aunts taught him how to choose a worthy wife.
His elders, the arrow-maker, the medicine man and the Tribal Chiefs taught him his history, spirituality, politics, oratory, philosophies, values and life's work.

Reuben Snake traces the above relationships to the child in the generations then of his grandfather, his father, and himself. The changes creep in. To the above cultural transmission in his grandfather's generation is added:

His Indian agent taught him he must become a farmer.
His white Christian minister taught him Jesus Christ loves all men.
His white homesteading neighbor taught him fear and hostility.
His white school teacher taught him that it was senseless to retain his Indian ways.
Mah-Oonah, the earthmaker, taught him which road to walk.

To Reuben's father's generation the following changes are observed:

His BIA Superintendent taught him he was too incompetent to manage his own affairs.
His white Christian minister taught him that Jesus Christ loves all men who give up their "Pagan Beliefs" and enter into the white man's church of stone and mortar.
His white farm neighbor taught him all about racism, bigotry, prejudice and hate.

To Reuben's own generation the culture experienced further changes:

I had many teachers:

My grandfather tried to teach me how to make wise decisions.
My grandmother taught me love and generosity.
My father taught me how to "squeeze" Sterno and drink "Green Lizard," "Bay Horse" and "White Port."
My mother taught me that there is an end to stoic patience.
My elders taught me my values.
By BIA Superintendent taught me that "Government Red Tape" weighs down upon me and slowly crushes me to death.
My Apple Christian minister taught me that Jesus loves little boys who wear suits, ties, white shirts, shined shoes and who get a hair cut before going into the white man's church of stone and mortar.
My white school teacher taught me that my aboriginal ancestors had "Strange Beliefs," that they worshipped many different gods, that they had only attained a stone-age mentality, that they were saved from extinction only by learning ways of the white man.
My white boss is teaching me that someday if I make "the right decisions" I can be "successful" just like him.
Mah-Oonah, the earthmaker, is teaching me which road to walk.

For his son's generation Reuben advocates preservation of Winnebago cultural transmission by parents and grandparents, and great grandfathers, and adds to this the advocacy of Indian teachers who will teach the sons of their ancestors glory and greatness.

Their white neighbors will teach them that even they can change and learn to live as brothers.
Their Indian brothers and sisters throughout this great land will teach them that they can live their lives with dignity in a brotherhood of all men.
Mah-Oonah will teach them to lead us on the road we all must walk.[2]

The following discussion pursues root ideas or concepts which might serve as means of unifying some of the above subjects, or perhaps, rearranging them under other headings starting with these root concepts.

1. Expressive arts
2. Social groupings
3. Powers of concentration and crisis experiences

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[2] Reuben Snake, Jr., "Indian Education," Editorial from Winnebago Indian News, in T.O.N.I.C., op. cit.

iii. Expressive Arts

One mythologist, particularly sensitive to the Native American approach to life in traditional societies, writes about the unity of outer and inner realities among these people.

> Eliade states that myth should be considered as an absolutely true story that narrates a sacred history within its own cultural milieu. Myth, for him is never an allegorical interpretation of reality in which the gods are merely personifications of the forces of nature. Myth always deals with a sacred reality. It narrates a sacred history; it relates an event that took place in primordial Time, the fabled time of the "beginnings." In other words, myth tells how, through the deeds of supernatural Beings, a reality came into existence, be it the whole of reality, the Cosmos, or only a fragment of reality.[3]

The expressive arts rest upon the sense of reality functioning in unitary ways within the Cosmos, the sacred and secular worlds, and the individual is united with these spheres of being, as a "fragment of reality." The individual self is born with the capacity to function as a whole being within his society and universe, uniting the inner self with the larger selves or members of the society. If these larger realities in relation to self are not understood or accepted, it may be that personhood cannot be achieved fully.

The Winnebago myth of creation begins with Ma-una (Ma-Oonah), the Creator, resting somewhere in a void. Wilbur Sharpback, Winnebago elder, spoke of the Medicine Lodge Creation story, and incidentally, the purpose of the lodge.

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[3] Enrico Garzilli, Circles without Center (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 40.

> There was nothing. No clouds. No water. Ma-una asks: "How did I get here? How?" They speak like that. They [Medicine lodge members] want life. They talk about life. It's about life.
>
> He made human beings. White people call them angels. We call them human beings. They learn how to have a good life. There are a lot of things to the religion.[4]

Felix White, Sr. speaks of human beings in the Winnebago story of creation.

> The two-legged ones were Ma-una's last creations. All the preceding ones had been given duties. [He refers to the Twins, WaXchungkaga, Turtle, Bladder, Hare.] Ma-una gave these a will. They didn't know how to use a will. Ma-una was quite concerned about them. He created tobacco so that they could ask for help.[5]

There is scarcely the implication of hierarchical relationships here, let alone the relationships indicated in the chain of creation. Human beings are created rather as infants who possess a will but do not know how to use it, hence, tobacco is provided as a means of communication with Ma-una, or prayer. Once the tobacco is linked with fire, a sacred tool, the smoke mingles with the currents of air and wafts upward into the sky regions.

The Winnebago clans, twelve in number, are organized into earth and sky clans, so that the functions of life may be carried on without disruption. The expressive arts arise from this sense of community, the bedrock of tribal life.

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4 Personal Interview with Wilbur Sharpback, Winnebago, Nebraska, January 8, 1978.

5 Personal Interview with Felix White, Sr., Winnebago, Nebraska, September 25, 1977.

> It is within this context that the formal considerations of Native American literature can best be understood. The structures which embody expressed and implied relationships between men and other beings as well as the symbols which signify and articulate them are designed to accomplish this integration of the various orders of beings. It is assumed that beings other than the human participants are present at ceremonial enactments, and the ceremony is composed for their understanding participation as well as that of the human beings who are there. It is also understood that the human participants include those members of the tribe who are not physically present, for it's the community as community which enacts the ceremony, and not simply the separate persons attending it.[6]

The separation of the forces of life and death was not considered as an irretrievably categorical separation. For example, the ghost or soul was very much a part of a person's being. Although the reincarnated soul could join the "ancestors" of the Medicine Lodge believers, the ghost lingers for a year among his or her earthly relatives. A memorial dinner among Winnebago families who have lost a loved one takes place a year after the death in recognition of the need then to say farewell to the restless soul.

The journey through life serves as a motif to unify the tales, as well as to embody the philosophy of unification of life forces, sacred and secular. The Journey of the Soul to Spiritland was told at a wake held as part of the funeral customs in 1911. The story is about the soul(s) of brave men who are counseled to follow "the footprints of the day on the blue sky before you." These footprints represent the footprints of those who have passed into life again or "reincarnation."[7]

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6 Paula Gunn Allen, "The Sacred Hoop," Literature of the American Indians, ed. Abraham Chapman (New York: New American Library, 1975), p. 120.

7 Paul Radin, The Winnebago Tribe (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1970), pp. 104-105.

The hero cycles of the Winnebago have important implications for growth of the human being into adulthood: the hero or heroine encounters resistances by group restraints to uncontrolled infantile behavior, youthful exuberance, foolishness and unleashed destructive energies, and, on the other hand, encouragement towards equilibrium of the human or god, or the god-like human acting in concert with life's forces.

The position of WaXchungkaga between the human clown and the demi-god is a most unique position. To the average human, the clown, who can act outside of society's law, holds a rather enviable position.

> Within the framework of acceptability for one reason or another, they are lawless, self-seeking, sybaritic, unrestrained, and enviable to the point of allowing us vicarious identification, therefore release of our own instinctive, irrational, antisocial urge. And our vicarious participation is socially acceptable for it is a sublimating process that protects the group from us. It makes no difference whether the trickster figure is god or demi-god or hero, he is less than Woh-kon-tah but greater than the average mortal.[8]

The WaXchungkaga epic can be viewed as the expression of how the individual learns to relate, however minimally, to the social group, or the socialization of an individual in traditional Winnebago society. Although we realize that the stories may be considered to reflect a society of long ago, the spirit of the commentaries on life implicit in them are true of any society. This epic tale can be considered teaching drama. The episodes are recounted as satire and farce. WaXchungkaga is like the infant, the child of preadolescent and adolescent years, who depends upon his appetites for satisfactions, and is ignorant of the tribal

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8 Thomas E. Sanders and Walter W. Peek, Literature of the American Indian (Beverly Hills, California: Glencoe Press, 1976), p. 30.

conditions and the restrictions of nature, to his dismay, physical discomfiture, and social ostracism. In an early episode he has no one to look to for companionship except the small animals and the birds who scold him yet show him the way towards a more balanced view of himself in relation to others, and thus he begins his slow progress towards mature socialization.[9] Much of WaXhungkaga's behavior is the opposite of what might be expected of the normal child and youth but Winnebago society knew this, and accepted as positive that which was presented in negative fashion; children could agree among themselves that they would never break ritual taboos, or behave in such foolish ways; thus, the morals were well taken.

The epic literature concerning the "Twins" cycle can be considered for educational purposes. The core of the "Twins" cycles consists very probably of the following episodes: first to third, sixth to ninth, and fifteenth to sixteenth episodes. This core which will be given in outline form below is shared by many tribes of North America.

First Episode:
Father-in-law ogre kills his daughter-in-law. Removes from her body two children. He throws one into the corner of the lodge, the other into the hollow of a tree-stump. Father returns and finds the first child, Flesh, and rears him.
Second Episode:
The second child (Stump) appears and plays with his brother. Father finally captures him.
Third Episode:
Father warns his sons not to go to certain places.

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9 Paul Radin, The Trickster, (New York: Bollinger Foundation, 1945), Part II.

Sixth Episode:
The twins kill the thunderbirds.
Seventh Episode:
The father flees from the Twins.
Eighth Episode:
The twins direct their father to a village.
Ninth Episode:
Twins visit and kill the ogre who killed their mother.

. . . . . .

Fifteenth Episode:
Twins destroy a beaver, one of the foundation-posts of the earth.
Sixteenth Episode:
Earthmaker sends his messenger to frighten the Twins and stop their wandering.[10]

There are several versions of the Twins cycle that exist among the Winnebago, namely: The Twins, The Two Boys, and Children of the Sun. Paul Radin secured the first two from members of the Blowsnake family, Sam and Jasper, who served as informants. The different versions are published in The Evolution of an American Indian Prose Epic and Winnebago Hero Tales.[11]

Of the several versions of the Twins epic, I shall discuss the version told by Sam Blowsnake to Paul Radin in about 1913. Part I tells of the wicked uncle who beheads the kind uncle who is at the time of the disaster living with his sister; after the beheading the sister must feed her brother through the opening in the neck in order to keep him alive. In the Creation Lodge all the powerful spirits meet to consider the problem of the kind uncle. In another version, the wicked uncle appears in the Creation Lodge with the head of his brother attached

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10 Paul Radin, Winnebago Hero Tales (Baltimore: Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics, 1945), pp. 46-48.

11 Paul Radin, The Evolution of an American Indian Prose Epic: A Study in Comparative Literature (In Special Publications of the Bollingen Foundation, No. 3, 1954).

to his belt. He now has the power of his brother to draw upon as long as the head is in his possession. Ma-una, Earthmaker, and other spiritual powers, Turtle, Bladder, Red Horn, and Hare being among them, devise a plan to have the sister of the kind uncle impregnated by Sun who in a very short time gives birth to the Twins. Part II is very helpful educationally in the presentation of the misuse of power by the wicked uncle and the overcoming of this power, however difficult, by the Twins once they are old enough to carry out their destined role.

Part III illustrates in story fashion the growth of the Twins through adolescence in which they test their limits, continually disobeying their uncle-father, and not being harmed for overstepping these limits. It was not until they interfere with the spiritual powers that they are frightened into obedience by Earthmaker.

It is clear that lessons could be learned from the Twins cycle by any human audience. The primary themes considering disobedience and obedience to tribal and cosmic orders offer guidance to relieve anomie in adulthood. Felix White, Sr. talked to me about the importance of the theme of disobedience and obedience.[12] "There was no evil or good. It was just obedience and disobedience. All the spirits were sort of equal. They were set down to oversee his creation. They were messenger-helpers of the Creator to see that the people lived happily."

Speaking of the characters of Flesh and Ghost in Part III, he said:

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12 Personal Interview, Felix White, Sr., Winnebago, Nebraska, October 10, 1975.

> The story shows that the spirit is willing; the flesh is weak. The Spirit is free. Spirit boy grew up in the stump [of a tree]. When he was born, his mother passed away in childbirth. His uncle placed him in a hollow stump, entombed in there. Ho-do-nika, one you could see and hold, grew up with his uncle (father). Then his "father" goes away, and he plays with the spirit that lived in a stump. Later, his father knew what was going on; he forbade the boys (Ghost with the beaver teeth later was persuaded to live with the family) to go over the fourth hill. You will get in trouble. They would know what they came for—to get rid of evil spirits.
>
> "Didn't our father say we had to go someplace today?"

Flesh says, "No." Flesh is weak; Spirit overrules. Although the story stresses obedience, it also speaks of a kind of freedom. Felix White, Sr. goes on to explain that Ghost or Spirit represents risks a person takes when he wishes adventure. If the individual were completely conforming to tradition, to rules set down by elders, he would be unable to experience personality growth; it is obviously not inconceivable to the Winnebago that gods also learn how to get along with others.

The Twins continue to test their limits until they encounter a "beaver," kill it and eat it. Referring to the account in The Twins:

> It was a round hill right near the bank of the Mississippi that they were approaching in this stealthy manner. Finally, when they were very near the lodge, they rushed upon the beaver. There was a loud noise in the hill and water began to rise but they drove the beaver into the river, chased it down the stream and finally managed to draw it out of the river and kill it. It was really a water spirit they had killed.

. . . . . .

> After they had eaten the waterspirit they started out again. But hardly had they started out and ascended a hill nearby when they saw something that looked most fear-inspiring. "Say, Flesh, there is the being called rucewe. Try and save yourself!" So the two at once took to flight. They hid everywhere but rucewe chased them all over the world.

> Now up to this time these two had been going around the world like holy beings. Now they themselves were fleeing from something in fear. Their plight became very difficult. They sought every possible place of safety, all to no avail. Finally they went up to Earthmaker's lodge and said to him, "Earthmaker, something terrible is chasing us. Try and do something for us for you are the only one who is stronger. We have fled to you for protection." Then Earthmaker said "My children, this being is my servant. You were not acting correctly, so I purposely sent him after you. In the beginning you were doing what was right for you killed the evil spirits. They were not creations of mine and what you did was right. Besides they were abusing the human beings and killing them. Therefore it was good to kill them. But now you have gone a little too far. I never told you to do any of the things you have been doing lately. You did them entirely on your own accord. You have injured some of my creations.
>
> At the very beginning you killed one of my servants when you attacked the Thunderbirds and now you have destroyed one of the earth-sustainers. So that you could do no more harm I sent rucewe after you.
>
> Now, my children, you must select some place to live and stay. If you wish to bless the human beings, you may do so, for you have the power to bless. You have performed great actions." "It is good," answered Stump.
>
> Then he and his brother went to a high hill situated in the east and there they are now living, indeed, even today, they must be still living there.[13]

Lessons regarding the use of power by the godlike, as well as the recognition of risktaking for learning and growth in personality, may be derived from the above episode. For the Winnebago, not only were the stories valuable as teaching parables for the young, but also as literary sources for basic concepts in their religious philosophy. The Twins were allowed to exercise their power to get rid of the evil spirits, but they were abusing their power when they killed one of the "earth

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13 Paul Radin, The Evolution of an American Indian Prose Epic, (New York, Bollinger Foundation, 1954), p. 97.

sustainers" or one of the sacred waterspirits. Earthmaker then put the "fear of God" in them by sending his messenger, rucewe, after them to chase them all over the world until they found refuge in Earthmaker's lodge. The Twins then could exercise their power "to bless the human beings" after they retired "to a high hill situated in the east."

Thus, the tales are themselves a "psychology"--a set of educational models designed to assist the individual in adjusting to life's demands, as well as providing basic concepts in religious philosophy.

v. Social Groupings

Traditionally there were among the Winnebago two phratries, the wangeregi herera, "those who are above," and the manegi herera, "those who are on earth," those having to do with the sky world, and those who were associated with the land, water, and under the earth. All clans belonged within these two larger divisions.[14] It is within the clan system that each family, and individuals within the family, found identity. Names were not handed down from father to son, mother to daughter, as in the present American family, but within the clan framework. Furthermore, names were designated by ceremony. An individual could receive more than one name in a lifetime according to proper ceremony. The social circle of the family, clan and tribe expresses the unity with other aspects of tribal life.

Despite the long history of suppression of native languages, education of Native Americans for civilization of the Western variety, and the government policy of assimilation to American culture, kinship

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14 "Among the Winnebago the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water-spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, . . .leaders of . . . ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake. . . ." Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, op. cit., p. 138.

systems still function, although, it must be added, that in some tribes and situations within a single tribe it functions with difficulty or not at all.

> Kinship systems and lines of descent still function, often at variance with government record systems and legal procedures. Individual Indians who dress, speak, and act like any contemporary American or Canadian, still play prescribed roles as clansmen, as members or even as heads of ritualistic societies, and as upholders of an older social order.[15]

The totem of a clan is "an animal, plant, or natural object serving among primitive peoples as the emblem . . . ." and totemism is the "primitive kinship system of which this is a reflection."[16] The important aspect for the Winnebago child to know is the clan affiliation under the inherited totemic emblem. This emblem is representative of the origin of the clan. For example, if the child is a member of the Thunderbird clan, he or she receives a name in keeping with that clan associated with beings of the air, and with the actions of the Thunder beings, such as rain, lightning and the like. "In the beginning the Thunder clansmen were as powerful as the Thunder spirits themselves."[17] Each clan has its origin myth, some quite similar to the creation myth of other clans.

Little attention is paid to making the distinction between animal, bird, human existence and forms of life, it being assumed that there is

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15 D'Arcy McNickle, Native American Tribalism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 8.

16 The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, ed. William Morris (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1971), p. 1357.

17 Paul Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, op. cit., p. 166.

a relationship. The Bear clan origin myth, for example, gives more than one version, one of which stresses the two transformations of the bear—one being the transformation from foam on the water to a raven, and another being the transformation from a raven to a bear. These transformations support the power of healing which is associated with the bear.[18]

vi. Powers of Concentration and Crisis Experiences

The high points of a child's life as he or she grew into maturity were the occasion for ceremony, and, in this sense, the stages of development as the child matured were religious experiences. Some of these critical times are the vision seeking and the fasting experience for boys, the marking of onset of menses and vision experience for girls, the preparation of a healer and holy person. One set of experiences which will be discussed later (see Chapter IV) reveals that which surrounds the Hey-dlush-ka which is the preparation for and participation in the battle experience. One of the elders, namely Wilbur Sharpback, said that Hey-dlush-ka originally meant a holy experience. Looking at the text in Paul Radin's The Winnebago Tribe[19] wanatcere means "concentration of mind" as the hunters sit about a fire and meditate upon the coming bear hunt and the possible outcome of the hunt. Such ceremony is ritual and conducted in a religious sense. Undoubtedly, the Winnebago practiced

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18 Ibid., pp. 180-181.

19 Ibid., p. 63.

similar ritual when setting out on such a dangerous venture as going forth to battle, to the battleground, the Wo-nung-Xa-day or "place of fear."

For the child growing into adulthood to learn to concentrate his powers to the extent of the wanatcere was not expected until he was ready to do so, yet his early experiences dealing with fasting and the ceremony associated with puberty led him in that direction.

In comparison with what the child is brought up to do today, when mechanical aids and electronic devices such as television, radio, the motion picture, and comic books provide "instant information" which needs little concentration, the Winnebago child of pre-white contact could receive without interference the cultural transmission from his elders and tribe.

The whole child who continued to function through the coordination of mind, body and soul in adult life could enjoy the benefits of the full expression of imagination, will, intellect as well as organic healthfulness. During the time of awakening needs of adolescence or puberty, the ego strives to assert itself against societal forces which draw the lines of adult expectations about the adventurous youth. In the case of the Twins, the lines are not drawn tightly enough so that they overstep the limits when they injure the foundation of the earth, the waterspirit, and then, Earthmaker must stop their adventuring completely, and allow them the continued use of their spiritual power, but not the destructive power. The Winnebago hero, reflecting the tribal individual, recognizes his relationship to the spiritual power. Modern man, according to some critics, has lost this sense of touch with the creature world and the world of

healing; psychologists maintain that his ego is "nothing more than the focus of experiences—and it is the experiences, not the focal point, which constitute the true reality."[20] Others, such as Carl Jung, posit that there is a variety of egos under a variety of names.

> Thus Jung postulates an Ego which is the centre of conscious experience, but which is overwhelmed if it allows the unconscious to approach it, and a Self which embraces both the conscious with its "hard won values" and the unconscious with its "vitality and power." This Self constitutes the unifying element in man. As well as conscious and unconscious it unites the male and female principles, centre and circumference, attraction and repulsion, and all the latent polarities in man. Its symbol in dream is the Mandala, circle or square, with the self implanted in the centre point.[21]

Another author, Rudolf Steiner "points to the vast possibilities of transformation which lie within the 'higher' ego—the ego which will ultimately realize itself as a fully conscious spiritual entity, a transformation affecting not only man but all nature as well."[22]

The theories of these authorities coincide with the traditional experiences, regarding growth into maturity of the child, and capability for spirituality, in the culture of the Winnebago. A whole series of "selves" is posited paralleling the names of heroes and the alternative names and duties assigned by the clan; and the child is the center.

The Winnebago words worak and waikun may be translated to mean in English the secular and the sacred; however, these realities are intertwined in Winnebago thinking. The epic heroes often behave in the same way that mortals behave, but they have power which is greater than that possessed by mortals. They can test their power with other holy figures.

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21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

The ritual drama of the Medicine Lodge is based on the concept of reincarnation but the initiate must pass certain stringent tests, one of which is the pain of loneliness after all of his or her loved ones have died. The tests take place in realms that are to the mortal, distortions of customary experiences in their telescoping of time and space, as in a dream. The initiate then faces death, and if he observes the rules of conduct exacted by the Medicine Lodge and passes the tests, some acted out by a miming of being ritually killed, after this can happen the reincarnation.

Death was very close to the Winnebago when this ritual drama was developed in the eighteenth century; survival was difficult. It was of historical necessity for the people to respond to a religion of hope during such trying times. The portent of a mortal's death is one which can be met either with vitiating fear or with courage that gives spiritual strength. The edge where life meets with death is the core of the faster's experience, the woman in childbirth, the warrior on the battleground,"the place of fear."

The published version of the Medicine Lodge rites in The Road of Life and Death by Paul Radin presents not only the ritual drama of the Medicine Lodge but also the history of the times in which it acquired its fully developed form. It is an example of dynamic adaptation to changing times; it was a time not only of unrest and warfare among the tribes who were being displaced by white settlers, but also loss of homelands and dislocations caused by forced migrations. The Winnebago added to their own religion some practices of the Algonquian tribes such as the Sac and

Fox, Iowa and other Great Lakes tribes; hence, the ritual drama of the Medicine Lodge bears the strong imprint of shamanistic practices and concepts, and, at the same time, raises the culture hero, Hare, to a position of greater importance than he enjoyed before this time, giving him the role of a saviour figure as in other native messianic religions of the day. Hare is the only one who can protect the human beings from the monsters who are destroying them on earth. To him also is given credit for relieving human beings of the burden of death by winning from Ma-una the agreement that they should be allowed the experience of reincarnation if the rites of the Medicine Lodge were followed and the quality of a good life maintained by each person.

In short, divisions within the person, and divisions among groups within the Winnebago tribe occurred after there arose demands upon the members of the tribe from sources outside the tribe, both secular and sacred. One of the most insidious influences was exerted during the fur trading period by the introduction of alcohol. Religious leaders and groups represented by Christian sects and concerned persons and groups, including the Medicine lodge members and the Native American Church members, worked to counteract the immoral behavior, behavior resulting from the alienation and anomie of the divided individual and disruption of a stable and undivided society.

Crashing Thunder underwent religious experiences of both the Medicine Lodge and the Native American Church.[23] His sister, Mountain Wolf Woman, however, who was a devout member of the Medicine Lodge, and the

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23 Paul Radin, Crashing Thunder: The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian, (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1963), passim.

Native American Church as well, lived a responsible and respected life. On the contrary, Crashing Thunder became an alcoholic, was promiscuous, served time in the penitentiary. Finally, Crashing Thunder was able to stop hurting himself and to live harmoniously with others, after he settled on membership in the Native American Church, benefitting from the support and encouragement of friends and relatives.

vii. Summary

The human being who is divided against himself and his fellowman cannot function constructively. The traditional expressive arts of the Winnebago demonstrated by the actions, thoughts, and emotion of characters in stories and epic tales, how members of the society should live together and with beings of nature and the cosmos.

The social groupings of clan and tribe provided a framework for functioning of individuals within the clan, the family, and totality of social living which recognized the connections of earth and sky, the secular and sacred life forces.

Once the unitary way of living is recognized by present day educators for the Winnebago child within the tribal setting, including that of other native tribal loyalties and cultures, then continuity with American culture can be facilitated.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL CONCEPTS FOR A CULTURE-BASED PROGRAM FOR THE WINNEBAGO, NEBRASKA COMMUNITY

1. Introduction

Basic to the adjusted human being is his or her capacity to experience a sense of wholeness. The sense comes from the unitary relationship of personality and culture, the ease of communication and caring, the relating of inner and outer worlds. Traditional informal education (or cultural transmission) was to assist the boy or girl to grow as a responsible person and social being, into adulthood of the Winnebago society. The conquest of the Winnebago people, their forced removals, and later a reservation existence in which their lives were taken over by the paternalistic system of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other outside influences, both moral and religious, made serious inroads on these educational practices. In most cases, the period of 1859-1950 found these practices no longer visible. What was transmitted culturally from generation to generation took place among clan and family quite separate from the formal education insisted upon and obvious to the representatives of the majority American cultural system. Yet, the cultural core in the Winnebago society has persisted, side by side with the political and economic, and to a lesser extent, the social practices of the majority society.

Consistently doing what someone else tells you without any recourse to self-development or expression is scarcely a creative way of

doing things. Problems have resulted from paternalistic tactics of the B.I.A., and the expectations of the dominant American society that its minorities will forget their culture and join mainstream America willingly. But the Winnebago practice a modern version of their traditional culture, and the language is still spoken. Giving the youth a feeling of pride in their own heritage is helpful in their developing a positive self-image; thus, the "put-down" of dominant culture representatives can be counteracted, but this is not all that is needed. Educational goals which can be fostered, realizing that there is the informal as well as formal cultural transmission or education, may center about the following:

1. Search for the truth according to the understanding of the people. This involves religious philosophy and morality with its attendant values;

2. Sense of purpose for the youth who have suffered alienation from their own culture, through the legacy of their parents' dependency encouraged by the paternalism of the B.I.A., loss of land base, or fractioning thereof;

3. Sense of caring which recognizes the kinship web with its generational ties;

4. Maintenance of interaction between theory and principles, and carrying out the cultural program.

ii. Method

A pedagogical method has been tested by experience and used for educating oppressed minorities;[1] this method uses for discussion by cultural teams themes which may generate new themes. The following themes may be

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[1] Paolo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: The Seabury Press, 1970).

helpful in Winnebago educational programs:

1. Assertiveness
2. Sense of identity and caring
3. Growth of consciousness
4. Communication and caring

iii. Assertiveness

Our Winnebago young can learn from their tribal heritage the means of asserting themselves as a member of the Native American minority in the dominant American society. This is the challenge which they face and for which they need to be prepared.

To be assertive without engaging in war against society or war against the self draws upon the inner resources of a maturing individual. Previously, the Winnebago warrior was sure of who his enemy was, the enemy warrior and threats outside the tribe. He prepared himself by fasting and abstinence from sex and family life for the demands of the warfare. On his return, he unbraided the mementoes of warfare—he unbraided (dlushka) his horns or hair (hey-horn) into which he had woven the souvenirs to give to "little sister." This is Felix White, Sr's interpretation of Heydlushka, commonly translated simply warrior.[2] The "little sister" could be any close relative. Little sister knew on her brother's return when this ritual was taking place, that her male relative had been close to death. She rejoiced at his return, and she could empathize with his experiences in the WonakXday—dangerous and fearful place to be—atmosphere inspiring fear.

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[2] Personal Interview with Felix White, Sr., Winnebago, Nebraska, August 1, 1973.

As Felix White, Sr. explained it, the Winnebago warfare had rules to be followed by the participants. The warrior challenged someone, as in a match, and it was up to him to outmaneuver his opponent. "You kind of tricky. You outmaneuvered me. I'll take your scalp." It was a dangerous, but a standard way of life. Hey-dlush-katta-chey-shino means: a very costly way of life. One of the songs goes: "It is costly to be a Hey-dlushka."

The leader had responsibility for the war party. If someone were killed, he was considered to be irresponsible, to not have enough wisdom to be successful in this endeavor. Another song has the words: "I believe I am a Hey-dlush-ka." The life of the warrior and of members of the tribe is one in which "hanging on to material things is nothing, rather it's a sacrificial way of life."

Today the enemy can be outside the person, and it can also be inside the person.

The enemy without or within is the evil. A number of authorities have attributed the evil of the world of today to materialism of industrialized, technological society of the Western civilization. Felix White, Sr. has stated that the Winnebago society (pre-white contact times) was not "hanging on to material things . . . ." Materialism is a concentration on the acquisition of things, rather than on matters of the spirit, or an awareness of, and doing something about the needs of humans. Members of a dominant culture in their scramble to acquire things, conquered Native Americans in order to acquire land, and, in the process, historically oppressed these conquered people. Oppressed people then can be used as slaves. Those who do not obey, do not survive. Some learn to live successfully in two worlds;

others survive oppressive experiences as split personalities in a climate of cultural schizophrenia. Learning to arise out of such oppressed conditions is a humanizing process; then the people are no longer objects of oppression as new ways of living are learned.

> The oppressed, who have been shaped by the death-affirming climate of oppression, must find through their struggle the way to life-affirming humanization, which does not life simply in having more to eat (although it does involve having more to eat and cannot fail to include this aspect). The oppressed have been destroyed precisely because their situation has reduced them to things. In order to regain their humanity they must cease to be things and fight as men. This is a radical requirement. They cannot enter the struggle as objects in order later to become men.[3]

Regardless of the almost insurmountable difficulties faced by oppressed peoples, they are faced with choices which will keep them in a static condition as in continuous darkness, or choices which will let in the sunlight, air, and more healthy and challenging conditions of living. For many the decision to be free in the most challenging yet, limiting way because society and life impose limits, is a frightening experience.[4] This takes honesty and bravery. Today there are such brave men and women.

Our ancestors knew the challenge of fasting, as in the "vision quest," the recognition of the brink of arrival of adulthood, after the experiences of sharing with family and clan in this growing up and away from foolish

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[3] Freire, op. cit., p. 55.

[4] Elbert R. Hill, "Tales and Trials: Children's Stories and Cultural Alienation Among the Winnebago" (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1973), pp. 416-417.

ways, causing harm to others while testing one's power. The concentration and meditation that the person experiences in his or her realization of personhood through overcoming fears contribute to the religious and spiritual experiences in life. The Winnebago realized the significance of these experiences and so developed the ceremonies recognizing the youthful members of the tribe. These experiences are real.

Educational goals as stated earlier in this chapter need to be implemented with the theme of assertiveness as one of the guidelines.

iv. Sense of Identity and Caring

The child was was sent away to boarding school far from family, friends, and tribe, forced to deny his tribal language, and to become enculturated into the Anglo-American system was inclined to have more difficulty than the child who did not have to make such drastic adjustments. Cross-cultural transactions are considered to be of great value today because they enable persons from differing cultural backgrounds to understand each other better, and, consequently, to get along with each other better. It is paramount that teachers of children representing cultural backgrounds that may differ from the teacher's background, and often, the entire school culture, appreciate these differences and, furthermore, work with these differences to advance learning: "True cultural insight enables us to see behind superficial, socially patterned differences to the full integrity of an individual."[5]

The traditional Winnebago society had the concept of a dynamic,

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[5] Eleanor Leacock, "Anthropology in Education," Cultural Relevance and Educational Issues, eds. Francis A. J. Ianni and Edward Story (Boston, Mann.: Little, Brown and Company, 1973), p. 190.

circular relationship inclusive of the individual and his or her society. Family and clan members were present at the Naming Ceremony. The rites marking the successive stages of maturation for boys and girls—fasting at different times leading up to the vision seeking experience of both sexes—were shared by family and clan members although the person was isolated geographically and spiritually during puberty fasting. Clan feasts were religious ceremonies, but they were also times of Naming, and times to mark the successful ending of the arduous fast.

The clans were divided into two general divisions, the Earth and Sky, and further divisions were made within these two, so the Winnebago child knew where he belonged, whether Thunderbird, Bear, Snake, Wolf, or other clans. He or she knew which was the friend clan, and into which clan intermarriage was forbidden. This comprised a strong network of relationships which evoked expected kinds of behavior. There was previously no problem with identity; caring followed in natural order as did expectations that members of the societal grouping follow the rules of behavior and moral code. If an individual broke these rules, negative consequences followed. Ceremonial practices, responsibility for education in the privileged relationship of the uncles (degas), (and also, aunts), adult-child day-to-day relationships are carried on in the old traditional way by families who are fortunate to have still living the elders, relatives and members of their clan to guide them. The clan responsibilities, duties and reinforcement of societal sanctions can be encouraged

to develop more fully, and the sense of pride in tribal heritage surely can be recognized in this way.[6]

v. Growth of Conscience

The Winnebago society of former times taught through its legends, epics of the WaXchungkav-ga, Red Horn, Hare, Twins, family advice, role behavior, tribal functions, what was expected of the child, what he or she could do, and what he or she could not do. From childhood to full maturity, the values and precepts were gradually internalized until the socialized adult was ready to prepare his or her family for life and death.

The Winnebago individual, it appears to me, was respected for his or her personhood, and hence, Winnebago society was a more democratic than an authoritarian society. However, the individual was not raised to be a completely autonomous person. Through a series of tests the person learned respected behavior; if this behavior was not followed, then ridicule came. If a severe flouting of societal sanctions had occurred, ostracism would follow. In Part II of the Twins cycle, the uncle/father tells the boys the places they are not to play, but Ghost (Stump) persuades Flesh, in each instance, to disobey the father. Although the twins disobeyed a number of times, they were learning that obedience was necessary.

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6 The Senecas of the Iroquian group of tribes, in the early post white contact days, responded to the inspired leadership of Handsome Lake who created a nativist religion which was largely traditional but drew on Christian concepts of avoidance of warfare, and non-Indian ideals applied to farming family tracts of land, although land held tribally had also required much hard work before. The tribal members who had been demoralized by drunkenness, and those who had become apathetic as a result of the conquest of the tribe became once again responsible persons. The tribe could function again as a healthy, cooperative, happy one. See Edward H. Spicer, A Short History of Indians of the United States (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, Inc., 1969), p. 50.

Part III of the Twins cycle illustrates how adolescent boys take risks that are dangerous to the point of death. They are not to go to the world of Herecgunina, leader of the evil spirits, but they go anyway, and are almost scalded to death by the excruciatingly hot steam in that sweat lodge. All the while, they are growing in power, and testing themselves against the rules voiced by their spirit leaders. Finally, Ma-oona is forced to set limits so that they are compelled to realize there is a limit to their powers. (This happens when the rucewe or turkey-buzzard chases them after they have killed a Water Spirit, one of the pillars of the Earth.)

Learning occurs in a gradual sequence. Fasting began for the little children about age five, and so they were inured to going without food and water by puberty when fasting was an ordeal of four, seven days, and sometimes longer.

A vision that came to the individual might be more individual then clan-oriented; for example Etta Hunter[7] tells about her mother's vision-fast in which she dreamed of an oak. In later years, at age 70 she was very strong, as an "oak." The clan symbol may be considered a type of "guardian spirit" insofar as the vision-seeker can experience aspects of his clan animal, bird, water serpent, or the quality of these life forms, e.g., fleet as a deer, having superior strength and healing powers of a bear. It is in these visions, and even, in the unsuccessful attempts at achieving visions, that conscience is reinforced through internalization of cultural values by the individual in his or her own unique experience.

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7 Personal Interview, Etta Hunter, Winnebago, Nebraska, July 8, 1977.

The vision-quest is a test of endurance, and a crucial experience; it is a spiritual experience as the person cries piteously to the spirits for help. (See for comparison, section on fasting, Mentor L. Williams, Schoolcraft's Indian Legends (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1956), p. 81.)

vi. Communication and Caring

Felix White, Sr. discusses "sustained conscientiousness" in a tape available at the audio-visual center, Andrews Hall, University of Nebraska-Lincoln. In these two words may be found the core of Winnebago morality, of the ideal man and woman: the concerned person who usually has attained a spiritual experience through fasting, and a caring/communicative type of life. This state is also discussed by other holy leaders, such as Black Elk, for his Sioux tribe.

To facilitate cross-cultural transactions for today's youth, it is necessary to consider English terminology that will say what Native Americans mean. In Funk and Wagnalls Standard Desk Dictionary,[8] the definitions useful for this discussion are given as follows:

> conscientious = governed by or done in accordance with conscience; scrupulous
>
> Consciousness = 1. The state of being conscious; awareness of oneself and one's surroundings. 3. The mental and emotional awareness of an individual, or of a group.

These definitions are suitable to Felix White's terms, with the exception that the words, "mental and emotional awareness" leave out any connotation of the spiritual; this omission is symptomatic of the separation of the

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[8] Funk and Wagnalls Standard Desk Dictionary (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, Inc., 1974), p. 135.

spiritual from life in the natural universe as understood by those raised in the culture of Western civilization. It was this type of partition of consciousness to which the members of Native American tribes had to become accustomed after white contact. The promise of rewards in heaven after death by a number of the Christian sects introduced the concept of a division between sky and earth powers, the concept of the division between the realities of life and death. After partitioned concepts were introduced, these old concepts no longer had the same power to insure for the Winnebago "sustained conscientiousness" towards fellowmen.

But in the older tribal life, the "customs of the tribe and the religious responsibilities to the group are practically identical, and the existence of two sets of values side by side is unthinkable," according to Vine Deloria, Jr.[9] It was therefore, impossible for tribal members who experienced the culture of pre-white contact days, to suffer the kind of cultural "schizophrenia", living in two worlds with no positive acculturation to either. Also lacking were the dangers that unhappy persons of the western world face today due to "partitions of consciousness" without the healing effects of "'permeability' or free exchange and communication across the partitions...."[10] Joseph DeFlyer has used other effective concepts involving either reconciliation or rigid partitioning off of "complementary opposites"

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9 Vine Deloria, Jr., God Is Red (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1973), passim.

10 Joseph DeFlyer, "Partition Theory: Patterns and Partitions of Consciousness in Selected Works of American and American Indian Authors" (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1974), p. iii.

within a given personality in a "Partition Theory." In the case of rigid partitioning the "gates" of personality and perception are non-functional. Other types of complementary relationships or separations are outer/inner states of being, male/female complementary relationships, mind/body, spirit/world.

Parental deprivation takes place when children are removed from the natal home and placed elsewhere, such as in an off-reservation boarding school for countless numbers of years with little or no contact between parents, clan, tribe and the children. These children became persons of two worlds, or became completely assimilated to one as was the planned outcome by the Bureau of Indian Affairs; some, became persons who experienced difficulty in interpersonal relationships as well as to adjustment within any community. The child in the last instance would undoubtedly have difficulty with a "conscience" or "sustained conscientiousness" operating the "gates" of personality with consequent free exchange and communication across the "partitions of consciousness." The children have grown to adulthood in the modern American world suffering the deprivation of their unique historicity, and identity.

When a tribal member has been brought up in a community which stresses cooperation and sharing, then is thrust into a kind of schooling which stresses individualism and competition, it is highly likely that the individual will suffer a kind of "cultural schizophrenia" if he or she does not manage the adaptation or assimilation to either the parent culture or the adoptive culture. It appears to me that the lesson of American conquest of tribal cultures, including the Winnebago, is one involving the deprivation of cultural values of a tribal individual's natal culture and

the incomplete brainwashing and substitution of the dominant Anglo-American culture. Military conquest, physical deprivation from starvation and inadequate rations, upheaval experienced by whole tribes in being forced to move from the original homeland, to not only one new place to put down community roots, but four and more, all these, combined with the foisting of cultural values of an alien culture could not have any other effect but to bring anomie to the individual and alienation from his own, and perhaps, from the alien culture as well.

Even when acculturation appears to be accomplished, the longlasting effects on individuals taken away from their families, clan, and tribal homelands, have not been adequately studied. Seemingly small details which appear in the interviews of the Winnebago elders may loom of larger significance if psychologists and educators would examine them in the light of maternal and paternal deprivation, the study of superficial acculturation, or the donning of cultural masks by "assimilated" Native Americans as against the continued deep-inside behavioral responses to the natal culture. For example, did the starch/sugar products that the sympathetic Anglo cook gave to the love starved five-year-old child at a boarding school thousands of miles from home, start a conditioning response which in years to come failed to reveal to the (now) adult that the "sweet" was not the natal family love which he/she endlessly looked for in temporary gratifications?

Renewal ceremonies of shamanistic origin have been studied by psychologists and psychiatrists, and found efficacious in healing in the modern world, even as they have been used in treating the patient in an holistic way in such societies as the Pomo, Navaho, Seneca, Winnebago

and others.[11] Tribal societies of North America recognize that the gift of physical healing, combined with the spiritual and emotional support of the holy leader and the family and clan, restores the patient to equilibrium within the tribe and universe. Some misuse the healing power for destructive purposes and need to be guarded against. The renewal of spirit through an encounter with death and rebirth is the core thought of the Medicine Lodge ritual of the Winnebago.[12]

Treating the ultimate risk of death for the sake of rebirth is a kind of behavior usually reserved for the holy leader who has achieved an intensive vision after concentration of mind and spirit, during physical deprivation. The modern world disdains this kind of spirituality as a kind of madness. However, scholars and students of healing in an holistic way give full credit to the spiritual breakthrough by those who may have suffered a "breakdown: during a period of "madness." "It may also be breakthrough. It is potentially liberation and renewal as well as enslavement and existential death." The modern person in this kind of "breakdown" has confused "ego with self, inner with outer, natural and supernatural. Nevertheless, he can often be to us, even through his profound wretchedness and disintegration, the heirophant of the sacred."[13]

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11 Tape in author's collection, Conference on Holistic Medicines, University of California Berkeley, 1974.

12 Paul Radin, The Road of Life and Death, op. cit., Part V.

13 R. D. Laing, The Politics of Experience, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1976), p. 133.

To the modern world the "mad" person is considered all too often, alien, and incapable of facing reality. But what is reality—the external, naturalistic world or the inner world? Does the modern person have to sacrifice the peace and harmony of full development of the inner world, and as well, free access of outer and inner world? "True sanity entailed in one way or another the dissolution of the normal ego, that false self competently adjusted to our alienated social reality; the emergence of the 'inner' archetypal mediators of divine power, and through this death a rebirth, and eventual re-establishment of a new kind of ego-functioning. The ego now being the servant of the divine, no longer its betrayer."[14]

The person seeking his vision for some sign from spiritual forces comes to grips with his feelings, and survives the fears that may assail him or her. The realization that there are awesome fears against which the ego may not be able to survive the test of endurance has been almost forgotten in modern times; the modern feeling is that man is alone in facing his fears. The journey into vision is superficially an experience which proves physical endurance; it is more than that. It is an experience during which the person gives up his individual being, as he or she exists in the mundane world, in order to gain the sense of being which is greater than self. It is an experience so uncommon in modern life that it is labeled "madness." The Native American holy leaders knew the truth of inner and outer spiritual being in the most intense of their visions, but most members of tribal societies of the past must have experienced the revelation of spiritual truth even if they did not achieve the mountaintop

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14 Laing, op. cit., p. 133.

15 Ibid., pp. 118-120.

heights, nor ocean depths of these leaders. Through acceptance, risking one's life, a kind of "death," the member of the Medicine Lodge is reborn.

For the modern person the challenges, the reverence or sense of holiness of traditional ceremony, for youth such as the vision-seeking experience, the ceremonial practices punctuating the lives of family and clan, may not be completely realized because of the confusions of modern life. Yet the determination and discipline of preparing one's self, with the aid of friends, family, relatives, or, perhaps, encounter groups or other support groups, for a period of promoting growth—as in the search for a vision—promotes inner satisfactions and social equilibriums.

Alienation and anomie are alleviated by interpersonal communication and caring within the family and other interpersonal relationships. These conditions were possible when the tribe was a functioning whole before conquest and oppression. To be able to care and relate to another, one needs first, to have an identity and acceptance of one's self, the whole self which through such recognition can love others, can balance equilibriums and tensions of complementary polar conditions and states of being.

vii. Suggestions for Curriculum Development

The problems involved in producing a curriculum which will develop assertiveness, identity and caring, growth of conscience, communication and caring, are many; but the development of a particularly well focused culture-based education will be required if the analysis of this monograph is valid, and is to be realized in such an educational program. Central to the educational program will be the following features.

1. The curriculum must contain material about Native Americans, and, in particular, Winnebago, Omaha, Santee Sioux who live in this region of northeastern Nebraska (and other tribes represented in the families). This includes the literature of the oral traditions, art and crafts, social, economic and ethical beliefs and practices, political organization. The values of the culture of the traditional life, as well as dynamic and constructive changes, must be represented in the format of the classroom.

2. Imposing the model of schooling for middle-class white children on all children regardless of background in this community is continuing the pattern of domination-submission tactics set up when first, physical, then, cultural genocide was perpetrated against the grandparents of these children. The goals of public school education are to prepare the children for adulthood in white society, and the Native American would no doubt do well to learn what it is like to be individualistic and to compete in American society. However, they also are learning to disregard their own cultural values which promote getting along with one's fellow tribesperson and others, even to sharing the last of one's material goods with others.

3. The economic needs and organization of the reservation are to be considered. The modern American and European societies are among the wealthiest in the world, but it has been only within the past two decades that any attempts have been made by these nations to do anything for the "developing nations," or in the United States for ethnic and other minorities. It took the Civil Rights Movement and resulting Supreme Court decisions to accomplish desegregation (and it's still not finished) for Blacks in schools, as well as other civil rights. The Native American

story is different but sovereign rights of tribes need yet to be fully recognized in this country where cultural pluralism is supposed to be guaranteed for all peoples. Part of recognizing their civil rights is recognizing their right to economic and cultural development as in the situation of the Winnebago, Nebraska community, where the recognition of a rich cultural heritage can strengthen not only the child's pride and dignity but can enrich the curriculum as well.

4. The sense of tribe, clan, and family should be supported through classroom organization and teaching. The concepts of ethnicity and cultural identification if not considered seriously with an attitude of concern and support for individual worth and human relationships, can work not only to the depreciation of individual worth and self-esteem, but also to the lowering of standards of inter-group relationships. In other words, what affects one, affects all. Support in a spirit of caring for other individuals and cultural groups until recently considered to be outside of majority American cultural domains, can, in the interests of cultural pluralism, strengthen self identity and feelings of worth of individuals as well as groups.

5. The authority system of the group must be reflected in the formal system of school control. Administrators and members of the school board, parents, teachers, and student representatives are encouraged to support a program which reflects the interests and needs of the community. The tribal council, city council, Bureau of Indian Affairs and other organizations can serve as organs of community expression for educational purposes. If all these groups work together, the educational program for the school systems in Winnebago can become the voice of the people who send their children to school, and who participate in the education of their children.

6. The concept of the circle as an embracing and deeply meaningful symbol can serve as a guiding principle of unity for the member of the Winnebago, Nebraska community, in the sense of balancing of tensions in acceptable rhythms of life. This concept can be reflected in numerous concrete ways, all creative, from art and craft expressions to harmony of living.

viii. Considerations of Application of Educational Concepts in Informal/Formal Settings

The four themes considered above may be considered either inside the classroom, or outside the classroom in less formal and informal settings. The educator, psychologist, counselor, layman or community persons involved in the educational programs can coordinate the suggested themes for discussion and study through developed curriculum, with the educational goals enumerated at the beginning of this chapter. The central question raised in approaches to discussion of issues raised in treating these themes is that of cultural focus; cultural focus may take the direction of Anglo-American cultural emphasis; cultural focus may follow the direction and guidelines of traditional tribal culture; cultural focus may be that of the pragmatic use of aspects of majority and minority cultures for daily living, work and worship. The scope of this monograph does not allow for a full treatment of how community members express their cultural backgrounds in daily living, but it is a study for the community assisted by a survey team that would benefit present educational conditions and future generations.

1. Assertiveness. The dictionary[16] gives both "confident" and "aggressive" as definitions of "assertive," the adjectival form of

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16 Funk and Wagnalls Standard Desk Dictionary, op. cit., p. 38.

assertiveness; if the person becomes aggressive in verbal or behavioral expression, he or she may move into violent behavior and invite the same type of behavior in response. To fail to assert one's self is inviting the dominance of others if that is the tendency of persons encountered in particular situations which call for assertiveness. The warrior of traditional Winnebago knew what to do in such situations but, in modern times, there has been an absence of family and clan training in assertiveness. It is important for youth to learn assertiveness as against aggressiveness, short of physical violence which is socially acceptable. Can assertiveness provide outlet for inner pressures, and also provide means for positive social interaction? It is along these lines that discussion might be led.

A discussion of assertiveness and agressiveness might follow examination of cultural forms of these behaviors. After that the discussion leader(s) might then go into options that persons have for making decisions.

2. Identity and Caring. Is the school able to handle the reinforcement of identity for the students who are not getting enough reinforcement at home? Reference is made to persons who may not have Native American culture promoted and/or practiced at home. In the absence of identity and ethnicity reinforcement in the home, a program in bicultural, also multicultural, and bilingual education is needed with full cooperation between parents, tribal council, and school personnel. Teachers will need to have bilingual and bicultural training in order to qualify in such a program as teachers, particularly if they do not come from the community and arrive as strangers to work, and even more, if their culture has not inducted them into the native traditions and ways of living

characteristic of the community.

Among some tribes, such as the Micossoukie Seminole, the education of the children was taken out of the public school system entirely, when the court case was won (State of Florida vs. Bobby Clay[17]) where the issue was compulsory attendance. At this time, it does not appear that the Winnebago, and their neighboring tribes would have to resort to such drastic lengths in order to have their tribal culture adopted into the public school curricula, to a greater and more thoroughgoing extent than heretofore.

3. Growth of Conscience. The traditional practices of dedication, meditation, purification by abstinence from food, and in some cases, water, while fasting is recommended for its behavioral and attitudinal effects when backed up by traditional culture. Not everyone can be expected to fast from age five on up to puberty, as before, so cannot derive from such an experience the source of inspiration throughout life. For those who wish to improve themselves, to rid themselves of a persistent habit (and many persons here and elsewhere suffer addictions, and seek relief through individual and group therapy), he or she should be able to practice the necessary abstinence, meanwhile receiving the group support and guidance similar to that received by youths who fasted alone, long ago. Group therapy and group counseling can provide some of the helps needed above,

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17 Copy of court proceedings in author's file, Ethnic Studies Department, University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

but the individual also needs community support from elders and family members. In fact, these experiences are helpful to most persons, whether they are trying to lose weight, adjust to the death of a loved one, or meet any other of life's challenges.[18]

Could the tribe organize informal education for "growth of conscience" on a more systematic basis outside the school? Might the Winnebago Language and Oral History Project be extended to include not only the young persons in academic (language, art, history) classes led by the elders but also gatherings during which these young persons can be helped to understand the seriousness of thought and social support for the cultural ways? It scarcely needs to be pointed out that a number of families have been in touch with traditional ways and their children have therefore continued to benefit from this cultural transmission. The school might also consider giving released time for such religious activities as when a child must attend a funeral and wake during school time, or other religious activity. After all, other religious denominations have released time for their ceremonies, and even for religious training. Such activities would also serve the growth of conscience.

4. Communication and Caring. This theme cannot be emphasized enough. If you are a person with an identity, you have reason to care for those who raised you and loved you, and you return sharing like this,

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[18] Youth in American can benefit from drug abuse prevention. They can also use the advice and information contained in the booklet published by the Multicultural Drug Abuse Presentation Center (MCRC) 8443 South Crenshaw Boulevard, Inglewood, CA. In this booklet it states: "For Native Americans, drug abuse cannot be treated in isolation, but must be understood as part of a multi-faceted, complex and comprehensive process," pp. 3-4.

with love and communication.

To what extent can the deeper visionary consciousness of the vision quest and other spiritual efforts be involved in renewal ceremonies with their attendant experiences of "death" and rebirth? Perhaps, this matter might well be left to the sole responsibility of the religious groups of the community, the family and clan. However, it would be very helpful to the students to have accessible to them tribal leaders, counselors, and other persons, who are familiar with psychological implications of spiritual regeneration and growth for youth and adults. (See previous discussion of Communication and Caring, supra.)

Winnebago literature, ritual, clan structure, and traditional practices have served to foster mature development of the whole child within his social groupings. How may Native Americans and children of other cultures experience the gratification of support and sense of wholeness today?

ix. Summary

Educational goals of search for the truth according to the understanding of the people, involving religious philosophy and morality; sense of purpose of the youth whose legacy is oppression through conquest and paternalism of the United States government; sense of caring which recognizes the kinship web with its generational ties; maintenance of interaction between theory and education principles; and implementation by cultural programs may be carried out through discussion and interaction of cultural teams in formal and informal settings discussing themes given below from which other themes may develop:

1. Assertiveness
2. Sense of identity and caring
3. Growth of conscience
4. Communication and caring

Curriculum development depends upon features central to the educational program presented above in vii, 1-6. These features may be considered also as issues yet unaddressed by educators and community members of not only the Nebraska tribal community but other communities as well, inclusive of the broader American educational scene.

The form of the curriculum can be guided by the principles and themes, offered as generational themes which multiply in healthy development, allowing for change for dynamic growth. The content of the culture-based educational program provides support for the child's identity, as well as serving as a means of enriching the American cultural heritage; the form and content of these educational programs, enriched by Winnebago and other Native American experiences, can take place in formal classrooms and in informal settings within the community. Recommendations for culture-based educational programs are:

1. That Winnebago and other Native Americans be recognized for their rich cultural heritage that reaches back into the antiquity of time.

2. That identity and ethnicity of Winnebago and their neighbor tribes and neighbors of differing cultures be supported by the content and form of these culture-based programs in formal and informal settings in the community.

3. That the educational programs be representative of all the members of the community, that each person and aggregate of persons or group have equal opportunity of expression.

4. That the child be the focus of educational programs representative of creative rather than destructive efforts on the part of cooperative adults.

How the educational goals for the community are met depends upon how control, or power within the school and community, is shared. The absence of sharing power creates discontinuity between home and school, and, in the Winnebago and other similar communities, rifts between groups and persons along lines of loyalties to family, tribe, modern or traditional endeavors, and generations. In the end, it is the child who suffers the most; anomie and alienation from self and society have happened to culturally and emotionally disadvantaged persons in this society and elsewhere. It is hoped that the form and content of educational program which mesh with various phases of life in the community in formal and informal settings will express the hearts of men and women who are willing to share ideas, feelings, cultural awareness and sensitivities in constructive and creative ways that have lasting effects, as season follows season within the circle of being.

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